

J.F. So can I start by asking you where you were born and when?

N.Z. I was born in 'Maritzburg in 1949.

J.F. And what part were you born, in a township or in a rural area?

N.Z. Rural area - well, I was born in a hospital, but at that time we lived in a rural area.

J.F. And what did your parents do?

N.Z. My father was a teacher, my mother was a housewife.

J.F. How many kids were there in the family?

N.Z. I'm the first one of the family - in a family of eight, eight kids.

J.F. And were your parents at all political, did they talk about politics in the home?

N.Z. My father did to some extent, but not - not a lot.

J.F. What kind of politics did they have?

N.Z. Well, my - my father I would say was - was not a - politically active in the sense that I wasn't aware that he belonged to any movement, but he was - he was aware of the problems of the country and the injustices, and he was aware of international politics in general, things like the Vietnam war and Cuban missile crisis, all those things I mean he would talk about at the time they were happening.

J.F. So you wouldn't say you got your politics from your parents?

N.Z. I would say probably the initial motivation - the initial interest did come from my parents, but the actual involvement just came from my surroundings really.

J.F. Would you say that there was - if you had to look at your motivations, was there anything you could point to that made you get politically involved?

N.Z. That's a very difficult question because I don't think there is a single thing that I can point to, but I think partly when I was at school, say when I was in - at secondary school I became aware of the fact that - well, one thing that made me quite aware that we were discriminated against was that I actually wanted to be a doctor, but the school I was attending wasn't teaching things like maths or chemistry or physics, which meant that I couldn't really be a doctor from that school, and the teachers at that school were very good and - but they did point out what the problems were in my wanting to be a doctor with the kind of subjects I was doing, because I was doing agriculture and biology and geography, which wouldn't permit me to do maths and - and then when I asked why were - why were they not teaching the other subjects, they said well, they - they were not qualified to and the government wasn't providing the teachers and the equipment which would be needed to teach those subjects and - but I mean eventually they managed to get me onto a course for high school, which would cater for the fact that I didn't have any background in maths, Physics and chemistry.

So they got me onto a course for my matric which would take three years instead of two, but which would then give me the opportunity to do the subjects I hadn't done.

N.Z. And the other thing maybe is when I actually went to the school where I did this course, which was at Amanzimtoti, commonly known as Adams College - there was a lot of discrimination in the school - though it was an African school, there were African and white teachers, and the white teachers were in the majority, and they had two separate staff rooms and two separate tearooms for the Africans and for the white teachers, and the quality of the staff rooms was different.

And there was one incidence which always sticks out in - in my mind - there was an old teacher, an African teacher - he - I would say he was the oldest in the school - he'd been teaching there for a long time when the school was still under the missionaries, and then the government took it over and he continued teaching there - but one day he came in - and I don't think he was politically active at all, but one day he came into our class and he was very upset, so we asked him what - what was the problem, and he said he's never been so insulted in his life, because there was a shortage of teacups in the black - in the African staff room, so the person who made tea for them also made tea for the white teachers, so he knew there were extra cups in the white staff rooms

So he went upstairs, got an extra cup, and came down and gave it to him, and whilst he was drinking a white teacher came down and just stood there whilst he was drinking his tea and didn't say a word - and when he finished drinking his tea he put his cup there, and this teacher took it and smashed it on the floor, and when they asked why he was doing that he said : Because this cup will then go back to the white staff room, because it belongs to a set of cups which are the same, so they wouldn't know which one it is, so it means they would have to drink from the same cup that this African had drunk from, so to make sure that does - that doesn't happen the cup had to be smashed.

And I mean I'm just pointing out the - some of the things which are really - which really made me - which - which brought home very sharply the - the problems of the society we're living in - there were lots of other incidences at the - at this school, but I'm - I won't bother to go into them, but I think quite a lot of my of probably deciding that something had to be done was - came from my high school days really.

By the time I went to university - it was at the University of Zululand, where I did a Bsc degree in Zoology and Botany - I had already decided that something needed to be done about the situation, though I didn't know why - how and - and when I was there I mean there were also lots of problems because if - I mean if you follow the history of the - of those universities, Zululand, University of the North, probably Fort Hare, you would realise that there were lots of problems in these universities.

So I would say when I was there I got involved, but still there was no tangible way of - I mean there was no movement to join - at that time there was only NUSAS and there were a few Catholic (?) church organisations, like there was a Catholic organisation - I can't remember what it was called now, but it was - it catered for university students and with black and white, and to have a conference once a year, and it was semi - semi-political in a way - I got a bit involved in that, but then round that time SASO was then formed as an alternative to NUSAS for us, and I started being active in SASO just as a sort of rank and file member - that's when I would say I started being active within a movement - before it had been just on really individual basis or school or university, but I wasn't in a movement - SASO was the first movement I joined.

J.F. And you joined it at Ngoye?

N.Z. Yes, and then from Ngoye I went to the medical school, University of Natal, and I continued to be active in SASO and in the local politics as well - I was secretary of the MSRC at - at some stage when I was a student there, and eventually I - well, before I became vice president of SASO I managed to join the ANC whilst I was at home, so I still use - I still - I was still active in SASO, but then I was also active in the ANC, obviously underground, and I eventually became SASO vice president, but I didn't hold that post for a long time because I had to leave the country, not so much for SASO activities but for ANC activities, so I eventually left South Africa in 1976, coincidentally with all the other things that were going on, but my actual reason for leaving was quite different from - from the uprisings - though I was involved in the uprisings, but I don't think I would have left just for that, and I was a fifth year medical student then - I was left with one year to go.

But I mean it became clear to me that if I stayed in the country I would - because I was being looked - the police were looking after - were after me, so it meant that I couldn't stay and still be active, and I would have been arrested, but what I feared most was that they might try and make - turn me into a state nurse, which I would have hated more than being charged, so I decided that though it would have been nice to stay on and become a doctor, but I decided that it was better if I left, so I left.

J.F. Where did you go, what did you do (.....)

N.Z. Well, I went straight to the ANC in Botswana, and from there I went to Tanzania - from there I came to finish off my studies here in England, and I qualified in 1978 in Bristol - and then I did my house jobs here, and then I had to go to Swaziland to work there.

J.F. So you worked as a doctor in Swaziland?

N.Z. Yes.

J.F. What years were you in Swaziland?

N.Z. '80 to '85.

J.F. And then you had to leave Swaziland?

N.Z. I decided to come and study in 1985, so I came here in Sept - August, '85.

J.F. And what course are you doing here?

N.Z. Initially I did diploma in tropical child health in Liverpool - now I'm on a WHO fellowship to just do different aspects of paediatrics.

J.F. Let me take it back a bit - when you were active in the SASO - you had been active in SASO and then you were - you joined the ANC inside the country?

N.Z. Mmm.

J.F. When you were first active in SASO were you aware of the ANC?

N.Z. I was aware of the ANC, but I wasn't aware of how to - where - I mean how to get in touch with it, but I was aware that there was an ANC which was banned, and there were some people in the country who probably knew more about it than I did.

- N.Z. And I mean there were people in my area who were - who had been active in the ANC and some of them were on Robben Island at the time, so I would say I was - I was aware of it.
- J.F. But how were you - how did you know about it - how did you get to know about it - did your parents talk about it or did - how did one get to know about it then in the early '70s, late '60s (Guessing a bit, baby making noises.)
- N.Z. Well, I mean when the ANC was banned, though I was young and I was well, still at primary school, but I mean I knew about it then, I - I knew their activities and I knew it was banned - I was aware of some of the trials that were going on, but I wouldn't say I mean I was - at the time I wasn't ready to join it, but I knew about it, and I mean I knew about Chief Lutuli, and I went to his funeral - to his unveiling - I didn't go to his funeral, but I was aware - when he died I was at high school, and then there was a big event of unveiling of his tombstone, to which I went, and I mean - and - and people still talked about it though it was banned, and probably they were not talking about his present activities - I mean I knew people who had left to join the Umkhonto we Sizwe, who were talked about even -

I mean I had an uncle who was on Robben Island and his son was out - he was amongst the first recruits of Umkhonto we Sizwe, so it's not as if it was completely alien to me - I mean I knew about it.

- J.F. But why are you different from some of the people I've interviewed who said that for them growing up ANC was the people who tried to fight for our country but failed and they're all in prison, and if you do what they do you'll just get in the same situation - I have come across those people who just didn't know about it - some people who the very first thing came to know of the ANC was when they got a Sechaba later when they were much older - do you think it was because of that uncle or because of being around when Lutuli died or maybe - you are a bit older than some of the people who were saying later SASO - I'm just wondering what it is, because it seems like you always had an open and positive view about the ANC?

- N.Z. Well, I don't know (Interruption)

- J.F. perceptions - my kind of overall area is non-racialism so I'm looking at the late '60s, having a feeling that it's a time when people were very BC, and how did you manage to be pro-ANC and yet fit in with the BC - what did you discover first, BC or ANC?

- N.Z. Well, put it this way, I became active in BC first, before I became active in the ANC, but to me they were never mutually exclusive, because I did not understand BC as a - an end in itself - I did not think BC and the ANC were mutually exclusive, in that I took it that - I didn't take BC as actually an end in itself - I just took it as a - a means to an end - what I mean by that is that at that time I think it was important for people inside the country to find something which could motivate and rally people and put confidence again in themselves as black people, something that would make them feel not inferior, something which would make them feel self-reliant and raise their self-esteem as a people, and probably realise that whites are not superior - they're just privileged, but they're not inherently superior and blacks are not inherently inferior.

N.Z. But it was very clear to me that when you've motivated the people that way, and then what next, so it was clear that once you've developed there (their) there's a - a limit to which BC can take you, and you had to find the next step up because it was very clear to me from the beginning that BC was not going to bring the government down, and what was needed eventually is to actually get that government to change, and from historical point of view it was clear that no amount of talking and no amount of conscientising people will do that.

So to me I would say it was like a growing child, you need to crawl before you can walk, and so BC was just one of those stages that you needed to - to grow up in politics and - but you couldn't live (?) - you couldn't be BC forever, that was my - my view - that you had to reach a stage where you had to do other things other than BC, and there was no other alternative except the ANC, so that's why probably whilst I was still in BC I found it necessary to join the ANC.

J.F. You said it was the - it was not the end, it was a means to the end, but what did you understand the end to be?

N.Z. Well, the end would be to - to fight the government, to fight the regime, and obviously to fight you had to have an army and you had to have a - an organisation that was catering - that was catering for everybody - I mean SASO was a student organisation and had a limited role as far as - a very important but limited role as far as I understood it - so it was just, as I say, something that you needed to go through to get your grips - to get into grips with the political situation in the country because that was the only organisation really that was legal at that time that you could participate freely in.

And it was an important step in that the other organisations were NUSAS, they were - majority of NUSAS people were white, the leadership was white, with one or two token blacks in it, but obviously, as I say, to raise our self-esteem and to restore our confidence in ourselves, which (?) you need to actually be prepared to fight - you have to be confident in yourself and have a high esteem of yourself - then SASO was - and BC was doing that, but it wasn't going further enough because it didn't have the army, it didn't have a - a wide enough organisation to actually have a meaningful impact to the government.

J.F. What was the goal of that fight that you said clearly the government had to be fought - in your student days maybe that changed, but what was your view of what the outcome of that fight would be - what was the goal in terms of fighting the South African government?

N.Z. The goal was to have a government that is chosen and that represents the majority of the people, who are African, in the country, so the goal was to make sure that we have a government that represents the people of South Africa, not that represents the minority of the people in South Africa.

J.F. And did you see the change being on the basis of colour, that there would be Africans leading?

N.Z. Well, I mean it's very - to me it's very clear that if - it's not on the basis of colour, but in any country where there is a - a distinct majority, it's obvious that the majority of the leadership should come from that group - it - it doesn't matter about the colour - it just so happens that in South Africa it's the Africans - it's not that the criteria is the colour, the criteria is that the Africans are in the majority - they are the majority of the population in South Africa, so any government that represents the people of South Africa should reflect that.

J.F. Right, but was the goal to have Africans leading - was - did you see any transformation in the economy as well or did you change your views along that way as you evolved politically - when you thought of the new South Africa did you see black people in the majority leading or did you also see a socio-economic transformation, or at the beginning did you see that?

N.Z. Well, I think I saw both - I may not have been sophisticated at that time to have the right terms to call it, but I saw that if the maj - if the government was representing the people of South Africa, then obviously there would have to be changes - like I knew that whites had a free and compulsory education, and to me it was clear that a government that represented everyone would have to do that for the rest of the population, and it was clear to me that there was discrimination in terms of salaries, so any government that represent the people would make sure that that is changed.

And any government that represent the people would make sure that the land is distributed fairly - it was clear to me that the whites had most of the land and Africans had very little, though they were in the majority, so whatever term you want to use for that, but to me it was very clear that everything had to change because you can't - I mean it - it would be ridiculous to have Africans representing Africans in parliament, but they saying that the whites should earn more, the whites should have free and compulsory education, the whites should have the best of the land, I mean that's quite ridiculous, so whatever change came with the leadership would have to come with everything else.

J.F. And did you see that change coming from blacks and whites together, from blacks and Coloureds and Indians - had you any experience in working with whites in a progressive way or with Coloureds or with Indians?

N.Z. To be honest with you, at that time I didn't think whites were relevant in that situation - I didn't think there were enough progressive whites to make a difference - I didn't think that all whites were bad, but I just think there weren't enough whites who were prepared to stick their necks for us, which probably still the case today, but at that time I didn't even think they were that relevant in working with, you know - I may have changed my views now that I think those who are progressive should be worked with, but I'm still not sure whether they making any much impact because they are so few.

J.F. Do you think your view's changed in terms of the idea of - let me ask this question - did you ever think about it and discuss the concept of non-racialism or did you at that time....

N.Z. Well, I don't know what you mean about non-racialism, and maybe if you define what you mean by that then I could answer your question, because I don't know what you mean exactly by concept of non-racialism.

J.F. Just taking it back to those early days when you first were just in SASO, your view was just that it really wasn't worth discussing because there were too few whites to make a difference - what about Coloureds and Indians - did you have any experience of them in a progressive way?

N.Z. Yes, we worked with Coloureds and Indians - we - they were part of SASO, and as far as I'm concerned they're part of the oppressed - they may not be in the majority, but they are part of the black group which is the - the group that is under-privileged and oppressed, so I had no problems with working with Indians and Coloureds.

- N.Z. And there were enough of them who maybe not - maybe not - let me not say enough but there were many of them who were willing to work to actually have a - a meaningful working relationship with them.
- J.F. When you began to learn of the ANC, how did the ANC differ from BC - there was the one level that they had the army, they had - was there - how else did it seem different....
- N.Z. Well, it - it differed in I mean historically it - it's different, it's got a long history, it's gone through different stages of development, from a purely African organisation to an organisation that had an alliance with other racial groups, to an organisation which took up armed struggle and is fighting for a country that would be governed by everyone and that would belong to everyone, and obviously SASO had not even come to a stage of what government - what kind - what country - what sort of country they were looking forward to after independence, because I don't think they - they even thought that they would be the ones to decide that because we - I mean we were aware of the Freedom Charter and all those things that had gone on before us and we were aware what people wanted, but I don't think we saw our role as a liberation movement in that sense, and the ANC was always different in that it was an organised liberation movement which had a long history and which was going to cater for everyone.

J.F. Was it an issue that - did it emerge as relevant that the ANC endorsed what they called a non-racial democracy, a working together of different race groups, whereas BC said no, there's no point being involved with whites, it's actually important not to work with them - was that an issue, did that matter, was that discussed?

N.Z. Well, it didn't matter in the sense that I mean the ANC had an alliance with different racial groups, had an alliance with the Indian congress and with the Coloured Labour Party and the Congress of Democrats and with a party, the South African Communist Party, but it was still an African organisation, and obviously there was nothing wrong with an African organisation having an alliance with other groups who are fighting for the same cause - I mean it was never really an issue that was discussed, and in a way I mean the ANC per se was never an - a public issue to be discussed at the time.

If you talked about the ANC you talked to very few people who you trusted very well, because it was not something that you could just stand up and talk about in public.

J.F. I guess what I'm just saying is that there were so many people who were involved with BC who very much dwelled on the idea of Steve Biko said black man you're on your own - and then there was an organisation that said very many important things, like developing a liberation struggle, but it also did say along the way not the most important thing, but it also did say no, we don't reject white involvement, we believe in this thing called non-racialism - and for some people in the '60s and '70s that was the problem, that they would get into a whole thing of that's the problem with the ANC, they're too open to whites and all this stuff - I'm just wondering if that was anything that emerged to you as an issue?

N.Z. Well, personally it didn't really - it didn't really arise as an important issue, I don't - I don't think so - I - it did not - it was not an important issue, and I suppose if it was, then I would have probably leaned more towards PAC, which was more along those lines, so probably for the mere fact that I never gave PAC a thought I - I mean I don't know, I - it just didn't occur to me that there was anything fundamentally wrong with the ANC that I should question deeply.

- J.F. But you're saying your consciousness at that time was such that if that colour issue had been emphasised greatly it would have (.....) a problem for you - you would have said no, I don't even have (?) consciousness, I don't want to get - I don't think I (.....) with the issue of so-called non-racialism?
- N.Z. No, I don't think so - I don't think I would have said that - I think even at that time the issue really was to fight for the rights of the Africans - it was not to fight to get rid of the whites, if you see what I mean - I mean the - the whites were just a fact of history that they were there, and there was nothing much to do about them, but we had to get our rights back, and so I don't think the whites were an issue which would have made me decide one way or the other - the - the most important issue to me was which was the best way of getting the struggle to progress, and the ANC seemed to be the best answer,
- J.F. And what were the debates like in SASO, because people have written books, and a lot of them were white historians, but people who - if you look at the kind of superficial understanding of history in South Africa, it kind of jumps out at you that BC at the time, especially when you were active - not even Mzala being a bit younger, but especially in the years you were active the issue was anti-white, the issue - that's how it kind of emerges.
- N.Z. No, that emerges from whites, not from Africans, because whites don't understand, but they will never admit that they don't understand what's going on - they want to create their own judgment - SASO had never said that their line of action is an anti-white action - SASO was fighting for the rights of Africans - they were doing things like literacy campaigns to try and improve the lot of the Africans - they were having work camps to try and build basic things, water supplies to certain communities, and it was mobilising black people to say they must be self-reliant, they must have confidence in themselves - it was discouraging people from wanting to look like whites because it was saying it's not - there's nothing wrong the way you are - you are black and you are all right as you are, and you are not inferior in any way because of your colour - it was stopping people from using skin lightener, straightening their hair to try and look - closely resemble whites.

It was never - if - if you look at its history and its activities, there was never a meeting or anything which was called to come and discuss how Africans can be anti-white - now I - I can't understand why anyone would say the issue was anti-white - how does that come about that it was anti-white - the issue was that the blacks should learn to do things for themselves, they should have confidence in themselves - that they are not inferior and they should be proud of what they are - it was never anti-white - I don't remember a single rally or meeting or conference called on anti-whitism, and any white person or historian who can show me a programme or a debate or a meeting which was called specifically to talk about anti-white or how people should be anti-white, I - I still need to get that evidence.

But whites have been so used to leading, and anyone who said : I don't want to be led, I just want to do what I want to do - then perceived it as being anti-white, because up to that point probably they'd never been rejected - their leadership role or their superior role had never been rejected, or their helping hand had never been rejected, but SASO did not say to whites : We hate you and we don't want to have anything to do with you - they said : Leave us alone to rally ourselves, to mobilise ourselves - if you want to be active, go and mobilise the white community, show them what things are wrong in South Africa.

- N.Z. It did not say : We hate whites, they should leave our country - there was never a big campaign to say that we should get whites out of South Africa, so I don't actually know and see how that perception comes from, but if you have any evidence on - on that, you can - I mean you are free to - to tell me.
- J.F. No, I think you've put it well - that's what I'm trying to explore - I think there has been this emphasis on the race issue.
- N.Z. It's wrong - it's a very wrong premise - it's just that especially white students suddenly felt that this was something new - they were used to being in NUSAS and saying what should happen and the Africans following, and when Africans said : No, we just want to do things ourselves - then they felt that this was an anti-white move - it wasn't at all - it was a pro-black thing - now if you say - if people say if you say you are pro-black, it means you are anti-white, then it's a different view, but I don't think so - I don't think if you say this is a - an - an African or a black organisation, then you are meaning it's an anti-white organisation - nor do you mean if you say this is a white organisation, it doesn't necessarily mean it's an anti-black organisation - but I think because history has not been written by us, who were in that struggle, who were in that movement - it's written by outsiders, who at some - some times don't even try to get the facts right, but they feel - I suppose partly from the very premise of superiority, they think they can interpret things and whatever interpretation they put to it is right.

That - that's the problem - I mean until we write our own history, I don't think on the whole, it's going to be easy to get the right perspective - there are a few people who try and get to the facts but others who just do a very superficial interview or talk and then go and write a whole book without having (?) - not realising that they - they don't have a clue really of what it was all about.

END OF SIDE TWO.

- J.F. I'd like to ask you about how that - again there were two periods - there was the period when you were just SASO, and there was a period when you were ANC, so keeping it still in the just SASO period, what were the debates like - how did people talk about these issues - did they - before you really discovered and your allegiance (?) to the ANC, did you sense people looking beyond the BC era to something else like ANC or PAC, or how did they talk about the other (?) organisations - you didn't discover the ANC through BC, or did you?
- N.Z. No (Interruption)
- J.F. Just before that period when you were still just with SASO, do you remember the kinds of discussions you had - do you think that your view was a bit different from the majority in SASO that made you open to the ANC, or do you think there were lots of people in SASO who are also open, or did they talk about the PAC and the ANC - were they more ignorant of what the ANC was about?

N.Z. Well, to be honest, I would say during the early days there wasn't much discussion about ANC and PAC, but later on, I would say in the '70s - sort of '73, '74 maybe - I would say maybe after - around '74 onwards there were some discussions, but I would say still at that time there were people who were more in favour of - of PAC within SASO - probably than those who were in favour of ANC earlier on - but I would think later say, '76 time maybe the proportion of pro-ANC people was a bit more, and I would say that the - the basis for being pro-PAC, for instance, at the time was not very deep-rooted in the sense that people who - who were pro-PAC did not come to that conclusion because of deep understanding of PAC and ANC policy and comparing the two and then choosing PAC, but it was just a matter of that PAC seemed superficially to resemble BC.

That - that was my impression at the time, that people just - who said they were pro-PAC it was just on - on - on that basis, rather than on comparing the ANC real policies and PAC real policies - but for those who actually seemed to have developed a bit further in BC, those who were looking closely at the policies and at what - at which organisation had the better chance of bringing about what we think should be brought about in South Africa, most of them actually came to the conclusion that the ANC was a better organisation - so I think those who actually did a lot of thinking about it and discussing and - and some were influenced by Radio Freedom because we - though we were in SASO, but we did try and listen to Radio Freedom - I can never remember how I came to know about it, but I did come to know about Radio Freedom, and at times we would listen to it as a group and discuss what was said and how we feel about it and so on.

So I would be dishonest if I said everyone was pro-ANC - there was quite a large proportion which was pro-PAC, but when you discussed with them, I got the feeling that their pro-PAC was mainly because of the resemblances between PAC and - and BC, rather than a real anti-ANC feeling.

J.F. And how did you get to know about the ANC and get to be recruited - had you been knowing about the ANC and then someone came and spoke to you or had you really not had any contact or knowledge at all and then suddenly someone recruited you or - can you just tell me a bit about....

N.Z. No, I mean I - I knew about the ANC - I had seen some literature, but I didn't know how you go about getting in touch with them at all, until I went to Swaziland for something completely different - and then I - I came to actually meet ANC people and talk to them, and got to start working for the ANC that way, but it's not just that they - they came from the blue and I hadn't known anything about the ANC and I - I hadn't even thought about it - we'd had some discussions about it and, as I say, listened to Radio Freedom, had some literature, but we had no clue about how and - how we would get in touch with people who would actually make you work for the ANC until I got to Swaziland and I - I met - I mean I can mention one person - Thabo was one of the people who were there at the time, who I met.

J.F. Mbeki?

N.Z. Ja.

J.F. And what year was that?

N.Z. This was '75.

- J.F. And what was your feeling when - were you nervous of the idea, having made contact, or were you pleased at finally having found them, or did you have any reservations or?
- N.Z. Well, it was a mixed feeling really in that I knew it was a risky thing, but at the same time there was some excitement that there was something - at least now, you know, you could do something much more - because at that time I just felt that I had reached a - I mean I could still work as BC but I - I - I had realised that it's got very serious limitations and it needed something - it needed to grow into a certain - another stage, if you want - if you see what I mean.

So it was a mixed feeling because I was nervous about it and - but at the same time I - I was quite happy and excited about it.

- J.F. And when you went back then in - what year were you vice-president of SASO?

N.Z. '76.

- J.F. So what kind of task did the ANC set you to - did they want you to try to tell people in SASO more about it overtly, or did they want you to try and talk more about issues or did they want you to keep quiet or did they want you to overtly talk to people and say : Look, I'm ANC, you should join?

- N.Z. No, they didn't want us to talk overtly - I mean that would have been disastrous because I don't think at the time there was anyone who was talking overtly about ANC anyway - even ANC members who'd come from Robben Island were not standing on platforms and talking overtly about ANC, so that did not arise - but they did want us to influence other students or other people that we are in contact with, in maybe at - I think (?) at different levels it wasn't that we had to influence everybody to - in the same way - I mean those who we thought had already reached a stage in BC where they wanted something else like us, then we would identify those and try and recruit them.

And - and then at - I mean we could recruit those, and at another level we were to try and distribute ANC literature to different people - maybe not necessarily them knowing it's us and maybe trying to form more ANC cells (?) - and also discussing the issues of - to some extent that just saying the same conclusion that we'd come to independently, that though BC is a necessary step but it's not enough - you have to go through it and then in a way, graduate to the ANC and - which was not difficult in the sense that we had come to that conclusion ourselves independently of them, and we did know other people who had the same feelings, so we (?) would be quite happy to - to be part of the ANC.

But we also felt that, without mentioning the ANC, it was our task to try and influence the debates and the discussions in BC to have more leanings towards ANC policies without saying they were ANC policies, if you see what I mean.

- J.F. I don't know if I do see - what - how could one do that in practical - what would the policies be that you'd be talking about, that you wouldn't identify as ANC but (.....) - what were the other (?) discussions?

- N.Z. Well, I mean like you would talk about things that are in the Freedom Charter without saying - I mean you would talk about what kind of education people should fight for, what sort of land policies, just general things, which were ANC policies, but without having to say now (?) we are talking about ANC policies, just dis - discussing South African issues, but putting our views in the way that ANC would put them.

N.Z. And also in a way influencing people towards not probably seeing the struggle as waged only by African people or Africans and Indians, but seeing them as leading the struggle, but that other people should also have a role to play, and even just talking about what sort of future South Africa people were thinking about, because some of those issues were - were not really discussed properly because initially it was just to try and mobilise people around the BC issues rather than about what a future South Africa would be like.

And more so to influence people that when they left South Africa, it would be necessary not to get them wasted and they should join the ANC when they got outside....

J.F. It would be necessary to get them?

N.Z. Wasted and just - because there was quite a big group of BC people which was just being wasted in Botswana - they were not part of any liberation movement - they were keeping themselves as a - a BC group - obviously there was no way forward for them, and some of them were even discussing of forming their own army wing, which some of us thought was not necessary because it was a very difficult task to undertake, and since there was already the ANC and its established army wing, then we felt that those who wanted to join the army should join the ANC army rather than try and think of ways and means of forming another army, because the question of military training did arise quite a number of times within SASO towards those days, the late - mid - mid-'70s because, as I say, of this group which had gone out into exile but wasn't doing much, so there were discussions about whether people should go for military training and whether the BCM should try and have a military wing and so on.

They were not discussed in public platforms, but they were discussed in certain quarters and groups, but obviously working for the ANC, our view would be - and not even because - it's not something that the ANC told us specifically to do, but we felt that this would be the right thing to do, to actually just join the military wing that was already existing rather than to try and form a new one - why have two African armies when there was one which was quite established - so these were some of the things that we felt we had to do.

J.F. So what was the reaction - how did people argue that they wanted to have a separate BC organisation - what would they say and what would you say in response - did you ever get a sense of why people....

N.Z. Well, partly - partly because some thought that the ANC hadn't done enough to - they thought they probably could do better with their army than the ANC was doing, and it was based maybe on - I think that was the essence of it, that they thought - it's very easy when you are in South Africa to think you can just go out and get trained and come back and fight, because obviously with very little experience even within the country, let alone outside the country, it's very difficult to come to grips with all the problems and complications of training people and infiltrating them back to the country - what sort of problems they meet and so on.

So some people felt that the ANC was either not doing enough or was too slow in their - in their trying to - to wage an armed struggle - so that I mean those were the arguments we were getting, that people said : Well, we think we can do much more than they're doing and we can come back quickly - some of them have been out for years and years and they haven't come back inside, and we think we can just go out and train and come back - and in a way having met ANC people we'd (?) discuss because these were the things that we were asking them as well - why are you not doing enough, why are you not fighting enough, why aren't there enough soldiers inside the coun - ANC soldiers inside the country.

N.Z. But we had a - a better insight into the thing because they discussed all the problems they had to face and why were they not doing as much as we expect them to do, and why it was important for people inside the country to support them and to be part of the machinery and that they should actually facilitate and do what we want them to do quicker and easier.

But for those who hadn't met ANC people, these questions - everything seemed very simple and seemed as if the ANC was just not willing to do enough and was too slow.

J.F. So did it really centre mainly around that guerilla army question or did any people say : How can you be talking about working jointly - I'm sorry to keep bringing up this whites thing and I don't think it's me - it's trying to have a focus - I'm just interested in this idea of did some of the people you were talking to say : No, wait a minute, we're BC, how can you say you want to work with whites?

N.Z. I would say there were a few, but not - not really many who just wanted to know - maybe not - not in the way you are putting it - they just wanted to know what whites were doing, what sort of role they had in the ANC, and how much influence they had in the ANC - obviously because everyone had, including me, the idea that it's the Africans who should be in the front line and who should be in the leadership, so people in BC also were very keen that this should be the case, and so it was some of the questions we also put across to the ANC people when we met them, to know what - what role the whites had and how much were they influencing the ANC, but I mean it was clear that the whites were there, but they were not in the leadership - at that time they were not even in the national executive.

And it became quite clear that it wasn't that the whites were leading the ANC - whites were - there were a few whites working within the ANC, but not really leading it, because obviously it would be wrong even within the ANC to be led by whites - so to be honest, those questions arose and I mean not only to people we talked to - even with us when we met ANC people, we wanted to know all these ques - we wanted clarifications on a whole range of things.

When I say we - we wanted to meet the ANC, we wanted to join the ANC, it does not mean that we just thought the ANC was - didn't have any problems and we didn't have any reservations - there were things that we wanted to know and we asked about and we got clarification and so on, and so were the people inside wanting to know the same things.

J.F. So if you had to put it in priorities, what do you think your major concern was - was it that army question, was it the whites question, was it the idea of them being out of touch, or what was your major kind of worry that you asked them or that you wanted to clarify from them?

N.Z. Well, if I were to put it in terms of priority, I think it was the army question - how was the ANC - it was the armed struggle - how was the ANC going to overthrow the government, because that was the main thing - the whites question I think wouldn't even probably come second - I mean it would be one of the questions but not a major question - I mean the other questions would be, you know, why are they not very visible inside the country and all those things - the white question was a question but not - I wouldn't say it was a major question at all.

J.F. Were there others who were recruited at the same time as you or were you on your own totally, or when you went back did you discover other ANC underground people?

- N.Z. No, we - we were recruited and we formed a cell - we had a cell, so at least there were four of us in that cell, so I knew about those four, and then we probably became aware of others, not necessarily who were underground workers but who were ex-Robben Island people and so on who we later met, like Andrew Masondo we met at some stage inside the country, not as an underground worker but just as an ex-Robben Islander and ex-ANC person, you know, and there were a few others that we met who'd come from prison.
- J.F. So it was you - when you say the people who formed yourself together, that you had been all recruited together in Swaziland - you knew of each other or?
- N.Z. Ja, we knew about each other, otherwise we wouldn't be in the same cell.
- J.F. But I'm saying you came from the same era of being recruited?
- N.Z. Ja.
- J.F. And when you got to talk to the ANC and you got this first hand discussion with them, did it seem that their line was different with regard - than BC with regard to socio-economic transformation or the class and race issue or some of those more sophisticated things - did that - did they talk to you on that (?) level as well, or did you do reading that made you think gee, this is a different economic programme, or was that not so much in the foreground or was it important?
- N.Z. I would say that wasn't their priority in talking to us, but we did ask about some of the items in the Freedom Charter and what they meant and how they see them being put into practice and so on, and also we asked about just the relationship with them and other organisations like the party, because we didn't know much about it, and so I mean it - it was clear that the ANC had a more sophisticated approach to things - maybe - maybe sophisticated is a wrong word - more experienced, and had gone through a lot of transformation, from having a house of lords and a house of - house of chiefs and the house of commons to being what it is today - obviously it had gone through a lot of transformation, and going through that transformation they had - it was not just a physical transformation, but it was also it was going alongside with their own understanding and interpretation of both the economic and national struggles.
- So I wouldn't say - I mean it's clear that the ANC was different from BCM in almost all sorts of aspects, besides that they were all mobilising black Afr - black people to join in the struggle, but it was very clear that the ANC was much more superior, and it was the only organisation really that had even come near drawing (?) - getting people to draw a document of what they want - so I must say we - I mean we were impressed with them, though we were not impressed in the sense that we did think they were a bit slow, even after having spoken to them and we appreciated the problems they were facing, but we - we still felt that - but we - we felt that to make them fast we had to actually help them work within the ANC - join the ANC and try and - and put our enthusiasm, if you like, into - into the ANC.
- J.F. At any stage when you were still in the country, did the issue emerge about the ANC's view of economic programme, class and race - did there ever get to be a critique of BC saying : Look, the ANC has a clear programme of action on the economic (.....) of things or was that just not on the agenda so much?

N.Z. Well, I think it was discussed, but maybe not - within SASO, for instance, if you read the documents of the '76 conference, I think you would get a feeling that there was some attempt to actually introduce the subject of class and economic programme into SASO, but its introduction was not necessarily as ANC sees it, but it was introduction in terms of that people should think about it, discuss it and - and see what their perspective is.

So I wouldn't say it was discussed as this is how the ANC sees it, but it was just discussed as how do we see it and how does SASO see it and - whereas in previous conferences I don't think there was much attention, or maybe attention to the same extent paid to that question.

J.F. What would you see as your - or for you and the people of the ANC underground viz-a-viz SASO - what was your major contribution, do you think, looking back in relating to the BC - what do you think you helped contribute the most in terms of - do you think there was some redirecting of SASO in any way as a result of you having gone to Swaziland and got recruited and started talking with people....

N.Z. I think so - I think so - I think there was a broader perspective and a broader way of looking at things - maybe not as a influence (?) from me personally, but influence from having more people with a broader perspective and some influence from the ANC and, as I say, it wasn't just me - there were other people who were recruited and who were still active in SASO as well, and I think having met with the ANC and discussed things and got a better (?) perspective of things, we did try to get SASO to - SASO to think about things in a much broader way, and maybe (.....) to try and introduce the subject of ANC, but maybe not directly, maybe by inviting, you know, known ANC people like Winnie Mandela to our conference to be the guest speaker and so on.

I think there was quite a lot of influence, and I think also probably after '76 there're quite a number of SASO activists who ended up in the ANC, who probably would not have ended up that had these things - had these things not been discussed earlier, maybe at smaller caucuses and so on, so I - I think there was quite a big impact on SASO and certain people, once the ANC had made contact with SASO people and BC people - not to say that every BCM or SASO person or BPC person was in favour of the ANC, no - there were quite some who either had not met the ANC or had not really thought of - that it was the organisation to join.

Some have subsequently changed their minds - quite a few have subsequently changed their minds, but maybe there's still a hard-core who still think BCM, BC, you know, and not any further, which is a shame.

J.F. So what was the kind of reaction that you remember getting back in those days when you first started coming with this new line - how did people respond to you?

N.Z. Well, I'll give you one example - I mean some people were quite positive about it and wanted that we should further explore this kind of thinking because they were, as I say, feeling that they'd reached the end of the ceiling (?) if you want, and the ANC was going to open other (?) avenues, but I mean I know that there were certain people who actually said: Well, you must be very careful I mean, these people are known to be tomatoes - and tomatoes in that sense was meaning red and red was meaning communist - but there were not many, but there were a few people who sort of said: Well, you must be cautious and not get yourself involved with ANC people because they are communists - though when you asked about what exactly made the ANC communist and what was exactly wrong about communists, there was obviously no real answer, but it was just, I suppose, government propaganda that a communist is bad and the ANC has some connection with communists and so made them bad.

- N.Z. These were very few, but I - I mean I - I remember once two or three people actually talking very strongly about this element, not knowing that I was an ANC person but just from things that - from our perspective, thinking that we were now sort of leaning towards the ANC and we had to be careful of the ANC.
- J.F. Where does that anti-communism among blacks come from, do you think?
- N.Z. I think it just comes from the - it comes from two elements - one, that South Africans have never really allowed - at least our generation has never been allowed to know what communism is - we don't know anything about it, but we've been told how bad it is, without being told what it is, so at the time - now things have changed, I think - probably people are - in the same way that they are much more open to carrying the ANC flag, they're probably much open to the party, even though they don't understand - they still don't understand what it is and what it stands for in the real sense, but maybe the scare is not so much as it was during those days - I think it just came from ignorance that - it was - it was ignorance and - and state propaganda.
- J.F. You can understand it with whites (.....) where it came from with blacks, if it comes - because blacks tend to not - in a way - in some ways whatever blacks hear the state saying, they believe the opposite, so I'm just amazed that very militant blacks in BC in the '70s would have this fear of communism, unless - and correct me if I'm wrong, but perhaps it's a fear of those whites who are communists who were trying to push a line on top of the African people.
- N.Z. Probably - I mean probably it's people who had PAC leanings as well because PAC was - was a bit anti-communist, so I mean I - I - partly it would be that, but I think just - just ignorance because even if they were pro-PAC, if they were not ignorant about what it is and what it stands for, probably even if they didn't want to join it, but they would not speak against it, if you see what I mean.
- J.F. So would you generally say you were pleased with the reaction you got or did you sometimes get frustrated that people still were suspicious of an ANC line or did you see movement?
- N.Z. I think there were enough people who were positive to actually make it worthwhile - there were those who were not, but I mean who needed talking to and discussing, but I think there were enough positive people to actually encourage you.
- J.F. Did you deal directly with the Freedom Charter at all or was it too early for that, or if you had brought up the Freedom Charter would they have said : Oh, you're ANC - or how was it then?
- N.Z. Ja, well, we - we didn't deal with the Freedom Charter openly, no - you talked - you - you discussed the Freedom Charter privately, I would say, not - not openly, no - I would be dishonest if I said we did - no, not openly.
- J.F. And just one other thing on that issue that I keep raising - did anyone listen to you and say : Wait a minute, what's this white involvement - and have that be the reason when they - whereby they would say : No, you're talking - that that was their problem, that they saw the kind of line you were pushing was one that wasn't black enough, or did you see them move away from that?

N.Z. No - no, as I say, I mean there would be one or two people who I mean - there would be a few people who would want to know what role the whites have and what role they would play, but I think it is an exaggeration really to think that people's decision was - would actually be based on white or - or not white - I think it - it's not true - people would question the involvement of whites and the role they were playing, but that would not be the basis of their taking a decision, you know, against the ANC, no.

J.F. Was Buthelezi on the scene at that stage - was he discussed as an actor in the South African struggle?

N.Z. Yes, he was - he was.

J.F. And how was he seen?

N.Z. Oh, that's a big issue - you see, initially we were very suspicious of him in the sense that he was now getting involved in the bantustans, because I think KwaZulu was sort of the last - one of the last groups to actually accept the concept of the bantustans, and so we were quite suspicious that he was taking on this position, and also he was one of the few people who were able to travel abroad at that time, and he - I remember clearly in '7 - was it '70 or '71 - I'm not sure, but around that time he went to the States and campaigned for investments in - that the people from the States should invest in the bantustans, and I remember there was a meeting - there were - people were not completely anti-him at the time, but they were very suspicious of him.

I remember when I was still at the University of Zululand he was invited by the students there to come and sort of clarify his position on the whole scene - he was not - people were not hostile to him - he was given a - quite a pleasant welcome, given a platform to express his views, asked questions, but it was clear as early as that time that he - there were some problems which we thought we foresaw in that one, he said that he was not accepting the concept of the bantustans as such, but it had been accepted, so because it had been accepted the thing to do was to see who would be the best person to - who would use it for the benefit of the people, and he saw himself as fulfilling that role of being in the bantustan but not toeing the government line, and making certain demands which would be to the advantage of the people, and eventually refusing to have independence.

And then he was actually questioned quite clearly on why he was then calling for people to come and invest in the bantustans because people were opposed to the bantustans and the ANC, Chief Lutuli had called on sanctions very earlier on, and though even the people were questioning him at the time were not necessarily ANC people - I wasn't even at the time - but we wanted to know because we knew vaguely what the leaders of the African people had wanted, and we knew that sanctions and isolation of South Africa was one of their main call, and his answer then was that it's very well for ANC people in exile to call for sanctions, but he is faced with Zulu people who are unemployed, who are hungry, so he can't stand by and say they should - they should - there should be sanctions and isolation, because that will make his people starve, so though he wasn't against the struggle as such, but he felt that he had a duty to the Zulu people, which obviously was clear that it was the beginning of problems because then he was now focusing on a specific group of people who he felt he had to look after, rather than focusing on the general problems of.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

N.Z. So - but then later on he then started talking about having the mandate from the ANC and having Mandela's letter in his pocket about things, and that what he was doing was approved by the ANC, so that was confusing, and certain people then thought he was doing the right thing - others were not very sure of what it was all about - and then eventually when he formed Inkatha there was lots of debates about it as well, because it wasn't very clear what role it was going to fulfil in the overall struggle.

But I must say that initially we were suspicious of it, but at the same time it was difficult to - to say it was completely wrong, because he kept saying that he had backing from the ANC and he had - when he goes abroad he was meeting the ANC and so on, so we were not very sure, but I mean it soon became clear as - towards the late '70s that he was not for the struggle in general - he was really more ambitious for himself than for the people.

But as I say, at the time BCM was very suspicious of him, but initially we didn't really attack him openly - we just wanted to find out from him what his perspective was.

J.F. So you still - it was at the stage where you still saw him as not just a homeland leader, not a sell-out on the same level at all that stage?

N.Z. Ja, we - we were suspicious, but I - I think there was a stage where we thought he was not as bad as the others.

J.F. How did BC analyse the Matanzimas, the Mangopes, the ones who - that black policeman and the black collaborators, informers - how did - did that ever become an issue in terms of the black racial analysis?

N.Z. I - I mean I think it was clear that - in BCM that those were selling out and that the homelands should not be supported and the Matanzimas were selling out on the people - I think that was just very clear.

J.F. But they were black, so how - was that ever a contradiction - how was that understood?

N.Z. I think in fact if you - don't know whether you've read a lot of BCM statements and things - I can't remember the exact wording, but I think there was a discussion on how do you define black, and it - it was defined not so much on the colour but more on what you felt and what you were doing, so to be black and (.....) did not necessarily mean that if you had a black skin then you were a revolutionary or you would never be a sell-out - I mean it was clearly understood that there are people who are sell-outs within the black community, and it was clearly understood that there were white people who were - who would within the - there were white people who were - who would - who could actually, if you like, be defined as black if you took black as in terms of what people thought and felt and what they were doing about the struggle.

So it was - it was not seen as a contradiction, because I don't think at any stage did BC think that anything that was black was good and anything that was white was bad, and that's where it's so important to understand what this BC was all about, because once you understand that, then it - it makes sense, but if you - if you think BC was anti-white, then it doesn't make sense on - it creates a problem in - in terms of how they would look at the Matanzimas and so on, but they were very clear that those were just sell-outs and they should be treated as such - that they were black was immaterial.

- J.F. How - you said you were involved in the '76 uprisings to some extent - what did you mean by that?
- N.Z. Well, I mean that we were - I mean SASO and - was influential, for instance, in the formation of SASM, which was the organisation which led, if you want, the - the uprising in '76, which led the initial march of the students on June 16, and also SASO in - at universities had similar marches in solidarity and in protest, because on June 16 the only marches were primary school students against Afrikaans generally....
- J.F. Primary school?
- N.Z. No, primary and high school students, not - it was not university, and SASO was a university student organisation - but as soon as there were shootings and people were killed, I mean everyone joined in and it became not just a SASM problem but became a widespread protest against that - and we had our own protest and we had our own participation within the communities where we were, and we were in touch with people in Johannesburg and in other areas through our SASM network, so that's why I say to a - to the - to some extent because I mean the initial day was not really a SASO day, it was a SASM day, but after that it was then everybody's struggle really.
- J.F. Would you say the ANC was involved with the June 16th. situation at all?
- N.Z. I would say not directly - I wouldn't say the ANC was directing the march or organised the march, but I think in - I would think they influenced it, but not that they were actually organising it and in the - in the forefront of it, and I think I mean it's important to actually see - you see, it becomes a problem if people see the ANC as an entity, as a very distinct outside entity, but if you saw the ANC not as a distinct outside entity, as in a way within the community, because if you remember, there were quite a lot of people who had ANC experience who had come from prisons earlier on - those who were doing five, ten years sentences were - were out - even some who had been sentenced earlier with 13, 14 year sentences were out already, so it's not - it's not as if the ANC was just existing somewhere in Lusaka and the people of South Africa were in South Africa completely separate.
- The ANC was within the people even at that time - maybe not to the same extent now because now it's not only people who were active in the '60s, but there are younger people who feel very positively ANC, even if they have never been out of the country - it's not the same as it is now - but even then the ANC was within the community, it - it - it would be wrong to see it as a very - as a very distinct thing, so I would say the ANC was very influential in the developments not only of 1976 - maybe even earlier on, '73 workers' strikes and so on - I think they were influential, not maybe directly from Lusaka but from within the country, and it's - it's not realistic to sort of think that the ANC has sort of just mushroomed like that - I mean it - it's been there and its influence has been increasing over a long time, and it has come to a stage when people feel confident enough in the ANC to actually, if you like, un-ban it themselves without the government un-banning it officially, but that came with lots of work and lots of influence within the country - it's something that wouldn't just come overnight.
- J.F. What month of '76 did you leave?
- N.Z. September.
- J.F. And was that because the police were on to your ANC cell?
- N.Z. Ja.

J.F. And was there a particular trial you were worried about being connected to?

N.Z. Ja.

J.F. Had you ever been detained?

N.Z. No.

J.F. And after you got to Swaziland, I take it that like any ANC person, you would be involved in continuing to give political direction - did you see a difference in the kind of outlook of the young people coming out of the country, pouring out after '76, in terms of their attitude to the ANC?

N.Z. Oh, ja, I mean there was a differen - a distinct difference I mean - the level of understanding and the level of support of the ANC was much higher.

J.F. Why was that - why do you think that was - why that change?

N.Z. Well, I think it - it's the same thing that I've been saying, that the ANC has been in the community influencing people, but also I think like in anything else, if someone knows someone who's in the ANC (?) - knows a friend or a relative or a neighbour who's left and joined the ANC, their inclination is - is - is - would be towards joining the ANC - that generation of people already knew people of their own generation who were in the ANC, which is slightly different from our generation because though we - we had come into contact with the ANC, but there were very few - there were people who had worked with SASO who joined the ANC earlier on, I think in '72 - no, not '72, probably '74, and we did meet some of them outside whilst we were still inside the country.

But in the '80s I mean almost everyone knows of someone who's joined the ANC who's outside or - and also the ANC had gained more strength within the country - they'd done more - they had more cells than they had during the time and they had more ANC trained cadres inside the country than they had during that time, so it's just a natural development of the struggle really - I don't think there is anything miraculous about it.

J.F. Do you - did you find that those kids were talking about a more sophisticated economic understanding, like were they talking about socialism or were they talking about issues that you hadn't discussed in SASO?

N.Z. Well, I think talking about socialism, to be realistic, the - the people know capitalism and they've come to hate it, right, and so the alternative is socialism for them, but I don't think that I would say they fully understand what it is, but they fully understand what capitalism is and they know they don't like it and they know it's not doing them any good, so they're looking for an alternative, but I would be - I wouldn't say positively that they understand fully what it is, and also I think it's - it - it would be good to put everything into its historical perspective in that during our time, for instance, Angola was not free, Zimbabwe was not free, Mozambique was not free, so whereas in fact in '75 there was a much more positive and much more hopeful way of looking at things - from the freedom of Mozambique and Angola, and from the defeat of the South Africans by MPLA at the time, and that influenced us quite a lot - even those who hadn't been in touch with the ANC but came to realise that defeating the government was now a possibility because here were people not very far from us who also have good working relations with the ANC having defeated their oppressors, and Angola having defeated the South Africans at the time as well, and that had a lot of positive influence even during our time.

- N.Z. But in the '80s I mean Zimbabwe had gained its independence, and it was very clear to people that there was no going back - South Africa had to be free, so I think it - it's not just the ANC alone, but it's the ANC and the developments in the region which have made this difference as far as I understand it.
- J.F. Would you say your politics then changed and continued to change after you left the country - do you think you moved further away from BC?
- N.Z. Oh, I think anyone, as they gain experience and become more and more active in any struggle, their politics can never remain the same.
- J.F. Maybe you'd describe how you think your politics then evolved?
- N.Z. No, I think I just have a - a much broader understanding of our problems in South Africa and I think I have a much broader understanding of what problems they are, what solutions might be possible, and what the problems would be even after freedom, and - I mean I don't know if - I don't know what specific thing you want me to say, but I think - and I've understood international politics better than I did at that time, so I think all in all I've got a - a much broader and wider understanding of the world and our struggle.
- J.F. On this issue that I'm looking at, do you think your views, your understanding of what the ANC calls non-racialism - has that changed, has that evolved from your BC days?
- N.Z. Yes, I think it has.
- J.F. In what way?
- N.Z. Well, maybe - I mean as I say, even during my BC days I was not - it was - the issue was not really anti-white - in fact we used to use the term anti-system during our BC days, and we used to call - we used to talk about the system and not - we had no - you can't - so if you - I mean if you read about how people used to refer to things, that was the - the popular term that was used, anti-system and - it was not whites were doing this, but the system was doing this, the system being the government system and - and all its support.
- Maybe the way I've changed now is that I actually have experience of working with whites within the movement and seeing that some of them are as convinced and as determined to change the South African situation as I am, and I've also come to understand that influencing them is as important as carrying on with the struggle is part and parcel of the struggle in South Africa, to influence whites to realise and to think in the same way as the ANC thinks, and to understand what the ANC stands for, so in that way I would say my perspective has changed quite a lot, but I don't know what - what else.
- J.F. Why do you say it's important - you didn't think it was before, but now you do think it's important to devote some energy to influencing whites?
- N.Z. Well, because I think it is a fact that whites are a reality in South Africa - they are not going to suddenly run away to Zimbabwe or to Mozambique, as they were doing in other countries - I mean the Portuguese were running to South Africa into Lisbon and leaving Mozambique alone, but they are not going to leave South Africa alone - they are going to be there all the time, and they also are influencing the government, and the government responds to their wishes to a great extent, and so if we had whites who were not joining the army, the South African - and not joining the police force, and not - and refusing to shoot people on the streets - obviously the government would not be able to keep its suppressive machinery going.

- N.Z. And if we had whites who realise that Africans were just normal people like them with just a different colour skin and probably different texture hair, but other than that were human just as they are, their attitudes would be different and so they'll influence the government's attitudes as well, and they would not be so scared of having Africans in the government or even running part of - running the country, and I think if whites were to change their minds about apartheid and so on, it would just make our task easier even after independence, so I think insofar as that is concerned, it is important to - I don't think it's a priority, but I think it should be part and parcel of the struggle.
- J.F. And then just lastly, this word non-racialism, did you ever - do you think it's important - do you think the concept of non-racialism is an important one in any way?
- N.Z. The thing is you - you haven't defined what you mean about it - just - just say what you exactly mean about this word, so that then I know that you are not at crosspurposes.
- J.F. I think the way I understand it is that it's a re-definition of - it's an answer to the question who is the enemy, and that the enemy is whites, it's the system, what you were saying - so it's an approach that is based not on skin colour but based on interest groups and classes - certainly not class to overtake or to say that race isn't the key key factor in South Africa - you have that peculiarly South African race and class interaction, but it's just the reason I'm doing the project is that the ANC, the UDF people in the country talk so often about we support a non-racial analysis, our goal is a non-racial democracy, so I wanted to ask people what does this mean - do you think it's important, is it an issue to you, how do you see it?
- N.Z. Well, I think it - it's important as I - as I've said, that white are not - we can't wish them away - they are there and they are a factor - and also I think it would be unwise and unprogressive really to then say we are fighting just to turn the tables and make the slave of - of today the master of tomorrow and the master of today the slave of tomorrow - I think that would be a very shortsighted and actually reactionary way of looking at things.

We not fighting to revenge but we fighting to co-exist, live in the same country, which we sincerely believe that it now belongs to all of us, and that we should live in South Africa as South Africans and do the best to promote a peaceful existence and - and have an - a common economical base - so I think it's obviously we're not just wanting to take over and discriminate against whites - we just want to live a normal life with everyone participating in everything in South Africa, irrespective of colour, and that the colour should not be a criteria for anything - but having said that, it's very clear that the majority of - the aspirations of the majority of the people should be fulfilled, and hopefully the - the whites will not see that as a - an - a racial thing - our aspirations should not be anti-white, but our aspirations are that we want - but that our aspirations is that we should not be slaves - we should have equal opportunities for education, equal opportunities for living where we want to live, equal opportunities for work and same salary for same work, and have a vote and influence the way things are run in the country, and obviously there would have to be - there would have to be some material change in the lot of the Africans, because clearly people are not just dying to be poor again tomorrow under a - a black government.

They - they need to share in the wealth of the country, which they are actually producing, and I think that if that's what people understand as a non-racial democracy that's - that's - I mean that's what I think should happen in South Africa.

N.Z. As far as I mean what - how it happens, how the distribution of wealth occurs, I think it's for the people of South Africa to decide, and I think the ANC's duty is to make sure that it gives the people of South Africa that opportunity to decide what the future for them is.

J.F. Have you ever worked specifically around the issue of women?

N.Z. Yes.

J.F. Do you - was that a factor - were there very many women in the BC movement - I didn't even know there was any woman who was an office bearer in SASO besides you.

N.Z. No, there were before me.

J.F. Who was that?

N.Z. Vuyelo Mashalaba was one of them.

J.F. (.....)

N.Z. I'm not sure in BPC, but I don't think so in SASO.

J.F. (.....)

N.Z. Ja.

J.F. (.....)

N.Z. There were not many, but there were.

J.F. Do you think that BC was in any way not as liberated about women - was that ever an issue?

N.Z. I don't think they're given a lot of attention to that, though I - I mean it was not discriminating against women, but I don't think - I think it was seen that women should participate, but I don't think it was a big issue around which lots of discussion was based - I think I probably have dealt more with the issues of women within the ANC than I did within BCM.

J.F. Why is that?

N.Z. I - I've been longer in the ANC than I was in BCM, but also probably I've had much more opportunity to discuss different aspects within the ANC than I did with BCM, because you must remember that BCM didn't even last for ten years - its whole lifespan was less than ten years, and I've been in the ANC for at least more than ten years now so.

J.F. Did you know Biko at medical school?

N.Z. Yes, I knew him, though when I started at medical school, I think he had just left, but I knew him from just my SASO involvement in the University of Zululand.

J.F. Do you believe that he was moving towards the ANC?

N.Z. I don't think so - I didn't think so at the time.

J.F. I thought the ANC at the Kabwe conference had said that they felt that one of the reasons he was killed was because he was on his way to a meeting with Peter James in Cape Town with the ANC.

N.Z. I don't know, he might have, but I'm not sure - I mean from discussing with him when I was still inside the country I didn't get that impression, but obviously he was killed a year later, and within a year lots of things can happen.

J.F. What rural area did you grow up in?

N.Z. I grew up in Polela.

J.F. And what school did you (.....) - Amanzimtoti to Adams - where did you go to high school?

N.Z. I went to a secondary school just near my home which was called Mandlezizwe Secondary School.

J.F. (.....) is it Dlamini or (.....)

N.Z. Well.....

END OF INTERVIEW.